



Upcoming Events

Sydney: Inner West film forum post- Invasion Day special screening. 7.30pm, Tuesday January 31st. Petersham Bowling Club, 77 Brighton St Petersham. \$12- \$15, covers three screenings.

Occupy Sydney Court Solidarity 9am, Friday February 3rd. At the Downing Centre, corner of Elizabeth and Liverpool St.

Occupy Sydney Free School 1.30 -5pm, Saturday February 4, February 18, March 3 (fortnightly Saturday afternoons). At Martin Place.

Contagious Strikes: Workers' Struggles in China - 7pm, Friday February 10th at Jura Books (440 Parramatta Road, Petersham)

8 years since the death of T.J Hickey - Rally at corner of George and Phillip St, Waterloo. Tuesday February 14th, 10.30am.

Occupy this Invasion, Art exhibition at Little Fish Gallery, 22 Enmore Road, Newtown (5mins walk from Newtown Station). February 1st - February 19th.

Refugee Action Coalition forum, 'Smuggled to Freedom'. Monday, February 13, 6:00pm UTS Haymarket campus, Room B111, Quay St (next to UTS library, opposite Paddy's Market).

Victoria: LASNET (Latin American Solidarity Network) Annual Get-together. Wednesday, February 15, 6.30pm. At LASNET Space, Trades Hall Basement, Cnr Lygon & Victoria Sts.

Camp Anarchy, Saturday March 10th - Monday March 12th. At Camp Eureka, 100 Tarango Road, Yarra Junction, Victoria

websites:

funsonmuch.tumblr

disaccords.wordpress.com

spectrenewsletter.wordpress.com

MUTINY

A PAPER OF
ANARCHISTIC IDEAS
& ACTIONS

#63 DECEMBER /
JANUARY 2012



TWO PERSPECTIVES
ON OCCUPY SYDNEY

ORGANISING AROUND BORDERS

NOTES ON CAPITALISM,
MONEY AND POLITICS

INTERVIEW WITH
SPECTRE/EL FANTASMA

TRAIN STATION AND BANK
ATTACK IN MELBOURNE

AND MORE INSIDE!

Editorial

This issue we have continued to focus on movements and groups that are active in Sydney and Melbourne in order to raise consciousness about the level of organising that is actually occurring, and about the possibilities for change. It's easy to feel isolated and lost in these big cities, to not know about something that is happening down the road or across town or about the organising of people who you may share a lot in common with but never have a chance to meet.

From Melbourne, we publish an interview with Spectre, a newspaper that the Latin American Solidarity Network (LASNET) helps put out and we report back on vandalism to a bank and a train station in response to the injury of a man fleeing from transport inspectors. From Sydney, we publish collective reports from the Black Rose Library and Social Centre and by the anti – nuclear Yellowcake Road collective. We publish a lengthy piece by activists from the Cross Border Collective and the Refugee Action Coalition that highlights some of the organising that they are undertaking.

We have also published two lengthy articles on Occupy Sydney. One criticises Occupy for an inability to extricate itself from the liberalism of the left. The other argues that, although Occupy has only been surviving recently, it has the potential to engage with issues such as housing foreclosures, and has overall been a very empowering experience. Whatever one thinks of it, Occupy has clearly been a significant event for radicals, and we hope that these two very different articles encourage critical reflection about its strengths and weaknesses.

In a small attempt to overcome some of the isolation that affects our own organising, we held a meeting with other comrades in which we discussed anarchist propaganda and publications emerging from Sydney. We talked about starting a centralised blog, a newsletter advertising events and another publication comprised of news briefs and essays. Generally we agreed that it was important to publicise and support each others' work.

Love and Solidarity, Mutiny Zine Editors Syzygy, Black Beard, L dog & Dumpster Twin

P.S As you've probably already heard, the Aboriginal Tent Embassy in Canberra recently celebrated its 40th anniversary with 1,500 Indigenous folks and supporters gathering for a few days of action and discussion. Mutiny hopes to report back on this event for our next issue.

The Mutiny Zine Collective does not necessarily agree with all the opinions of the contributors.

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To contact us for subscriptions, submissions or to tell us what you think of our 5+ year publication:

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funsomuch.tumblr.com - revo events in sydney

disaccords.wordpress.com - news australia & elsewhere in oceania & asia

THE EVER CHANGING FACE OF THE BLACK ROSE.

"The Black Rose is the charred remains of the temporary bloom of our capitalist society"
- The Ether

The Black Rose anarchist library and social centre underwent a change of collective at the end of September 2011. Not without a little shakiness, the current collective came through this tough patch with regards to its resources and Black Rose is currently open five days a week! We are very excited to announce the full cataloguing of all its books using a new open source on-line library program called Koha. We are also re-organising our extensive collection of zines so they can be much more accessible to people, especially to those looking at the collection for the first time.

We have re-decorated with new painting on the walls and some exciting stencil art in the floors. The recent re-opening of Little Fish Art Gallery (in the corridor leading to Black Rose - eds) has added to the feeling that creativity can flourish in the space, with packed out shows of some amazing local and international artists throughout the summer.

The wireless internet in Black Rose allows for work on activist projects. Occupy Sydney has used the space for making banners and flyers, not to mention for numerous legal debriefs! Black Rose is actively being used as a place for meetings between various community groups and for individual research particularly allowing people to learn about anarchist ideas and texts. It is a place where people can share their ideas and swap resources. We are currently in the process of setting up an internet dock of three computers for use, as well as a space to just study the books. We want to make it a welcoming place where jumping online and networking with other anarchists and activists around the globe is easy to do.

We hope to maintain the high standard of the previous core collective.

We also host film screenings and discussions and maintain an active interest in everything D.I.Y. If you would like to keep an eye on what Black Rose is doing or have ideas for a film screening, discussion or a new group please don't hesitate to contact us. Remember that radical spaces are awesome spaces and it's cos they are awesome, that we make em!

You can check out our website at www.blackrosebooks.org for more information or visit us at 22 Enmore Rd Newtown.

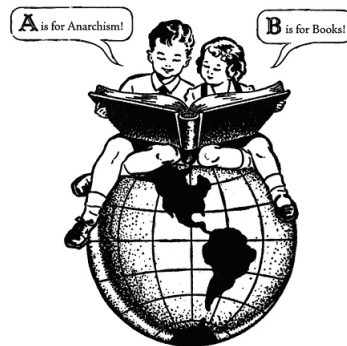


illustration by Hugh D'Andrade <http://hughillustration.com/>

Follow the yellowcake road...

The Yellowcake Road Collective is a group of Friends of the Earth that has been working together in Sydney for the past 2 years. We are committed to dismantling the nuclear chain - from mining, processing, transportation, weapons proliferation, energy production, and finally, to toxic waste dumping. At every stage, the outrageous health risks involved in the production, consumption and disposal of radioactive materials is unloaded on to marginal peoples - Traditional Owners, workers and poor communities - whilst corporations and governments profit.

Our main project is 'Nuclear Freeways', which aims to raise awareness, build solidarity and resistance along the transport route from the Lucas Heights nuclear reactor in Sutherland Shire, Sydney, to the proposed nuclear waste dump, at Muckatj, near Tennant Creek in the Northern Territory. This waste dump is being imposed against the will of many Traditional Owners. This is another case where Aboriginal people are being forced to trade off their land, their health, and their autonomy in exchange for the funding of basic services. It is an extreme example of the state's constant coercion and exploitation of Aboriginal people in Australia, which is part of the nuclear industry's global pattern of state and commercial exploitation of the lands of Indigenous peoples.

In 2011, Yellowcake focused on raising awareness in the first three local councils along the transport route (Liverpool, Sutherland and Campbelltown). We organised a community meeting in Sutherland where Traditional Owners Kylie Sambo and Dianne Stokes talked with locals about the connection between

their communities in Sydney, at risk from the transportation of nuclear waste, and the community at Muckatj, at risk of being dumped with nuclear waste for thousands of years.

In October, Martin Ferguson (Resources Minister) gave a lecture at Sydney Uni. Dianne Stokes and Kylie Sambo were yet again denied the opportunity to speak with Ferguson and have their concerns raised. We had a rousing and well-attended picket out the front, and despite the rough attempts of security to dismantle us, effectively blocked the front entrance and made sure attendees had to think twice about what they were going to see.

Last November there was an action at Tony Bourke's office (Federal Environment Minister) to highlight the marriage of the government and the nuclear industry as consummated by the recent approval of the monster Olympic Dam uranium mine expansion. Security staff, local and riot police quickly and forcefully moved the six protesters away from the Roselands Centro shopping centre (the bastion of capitalism that surrounds Bourke's electorate office), claiming the protest was "damaging to consumers". Protesters witnessed the police and security workers defending private property and profit at the expense of our rights to raise concerns with our politicians and the general public.

If you'd like to be in the yellowcake loop, we are kick-starting the collective again for 2012! Email us at yellowcakeroad@gmail.com. And put the "The CARDSHOW" in your diary (April 2012, at Mori Gallery), an exhibition of original artworks to support Muckatj Traditional Owners resist the nuclear waste dump.

Organising against

The following text are notes from an Occupy Sydney Free School workshop on December 10th on the topic of 'Borders and Occupy'. The organisers of the workshop are activists in Sydney's Refugee Action Coalition and Cross Border Collective) Info about these groups can be found at <http://refugeeaction.org.au/> and <http://www.facebook.com/#!/pages/Cross-Border-Collective/206522866073696>

by Claire, Jemima, and
Richard

What are borders?

Borders may be visible and tangible, like Australia's coastline and national boundaries. But at the same time, other borders are constantly being constructed around and between us. These are the kinds of social, cultural, political and other barriers or structures that create divisions between people.

A border delineates "inside" and "outside", or "us" and "them". What is outside potentially poses some sort of threat to be guarded against, which gives rise to the necessity of a border.

Some of the socio-cultural barriers we can imagine in the Australian context include questions of a 'national identity', what it means to be Australian or 'un-Australian'. These are the kinds of concepts invoked on occasions like the race riots in Cronulla a few years ago. Other divisions are generated on the basis of criteria such as gender, religion and marital status. We have seen lively public debate in the last few years, for example, about laws that fuel those divisions by differentiating between same-sex and other relationships.

In addition to supporting a campaign against Australia's border protection regime,

Cross Border Collective takes action to expose, oppose and transgress other instances of bordering. Earlier this year (2011 - eds), we organised a number of actions including protests, discussions and an art exhibition in response to racist campaigns in Sydney, and the 'say no to burqas' mural painted in Enmore.

This mural, depicting a woman in a burqa crossed with a red line and the slogan 'say no to burqas', made a clear statement about who is in and who is out, whose culture is acceptable in Sydney, and who is not welcome. Clearly visible from the train line, the mural served as a kind of public announcement from the gentrified inner city to people living in the western suburbs.

Concepts of "otherness" and "difference" have been used to exert control over people throughout the history of invaded Australia. Cultural and racial difference between invaders and indigenous people provided a basis for centuries of dispossession, displacement and discrimination. People who came as indentured field workers to Queensland's sugar plantations, or from Asia to work in mine fields were admitted to Australia, or were forced to come, in order to serve business interests, but faced many social

and cultural barriers to participating in Australian society.

We see contemporary examples of these conflicts with the use of section 457 visas to bring temporary workers into Australia, subject to restrictive conditions. Workers from the Pacific are invited to pick fruit in Australian fields, but on tightly controlled visa conditions, suited to the needs of industry, offering little in return to workers themselves. This is touted as a generous contribution by Australia to development in the Pacific, but in fact, it is meagre compensation for the onerous trade obligations being imposed by the Australian Government on its neighbours through free trade negotiations. Similarly, international students contribute substantially to Australia's GDP, consuming one of our largest exports – education – but are subject to restrictive working rights that often force students into illegal working arrangements. This kind of institutionalised discrimination is not limited to people born outside of Australia. The Northern Territory Intervention required the suspension of the Racial Discrimination Act to enable the federal government to undermine welfare provision and impose restrictions on indigenous communities.

Borders may be imposed externally, as in the case with laws of a nation state, or they may be generated within a group of people. When a group organises, like has been happening in the Occupy movement, divisions arise, based on different political views, backgrounds, ideals and visions, for example. This is not always problematic, but it is worthwhile for us to consider the nature of the divisions between us, the power dynamics at play and the potential for such divisions or borders to undermine

our capacity to work in solidarity with each other.

The Australian Government, whether under Labor or Liberal control, has used rhetoric and political strategy to put refugees at the centre of any conversation about migration and borders in Australia.

'Border protection' in the Australian context

In the Australian context the prevailing political discourse of 'border protection' and 'border security' has focused in on the issue of asylum seeker arrivals, primarily asylum seekers who are arriving via boat. This has had the practical effect of criminalising – and dehumanising – refugees and others involved in facilitating their border crossings as they attempt to escape persecution and find protection.

It is worth noting the Australian political focus on refugees stands in contrast to other regions, for example North America and Europe, where rhetoric around 'policing the border' is more often targeted at undocumented workers. This reflects the much larger numbers of undocumented workers moving across borders in these areas. Increasingly, however, even in these regions refugees are being made a target as part of a general crackdown on the border. In Canada, for example, conservative Prime Minister Stephen Harper has attempted to introduce a policy of mandatory detention for asylum seekers, his proposal modeled on Australian policies as an example of 'best practice'.

In this talk two key practical outcomes or policies that flow from the 'border protection' rhetoric in Australia are briefly discussed: mandatory detention and 'anti-people smuggling legislation.

to hand out a fine?

Against "protective service officers", cops and metpigs patrolling our public spaces.

For immediate responses to inevitable future misuses of power by all forms of authority.

Solidarity to our recovering friend whom we may never meet.

Solidarity to all free riders.

ENDNOTE:

Two friends have been taken in for questioning in relation to this attack. May we give open, ongoing solidarity to them in this time. Let us take this opportunity to broaden this resistance on every level – the mainstream media have taken it on board and its everybody's responsibility to trash the pigs cover-up story of their guilt.

SPEAK UP / ACT UP"

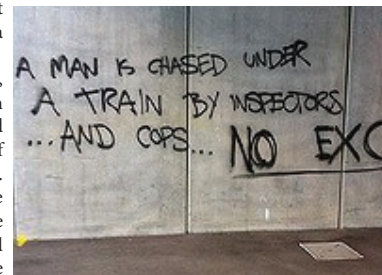
Two people – Jessica Bigby and Jonathan Penman - have been charged for allegedly participating in this incident. Jessica Bigby initially had bail conditions banning her from travelling on Melbourne trains, along with a 7pm curfew, but this condition was overturned in January. The mainstream press have made a big deal of police claims that she was involved in protest movements in the UK. She has a mention in court on March 21.

Following reports of these arrests, the windows of a Commonwealth Bank in Mountain Gate were smashed on Christmas Eve as a gesture of solidarity with the people arrested. A statement released dedicates the attack to those arrested and to 'the comrades who evaded capture and are still running free. Even though we do not know you, your action filled us with much happiness and we were angered to learn of the arrests – we want you to know that you are not alone and that we also agree with your statement that it is now time to broaden the resistance here in Melbourne!'

These actions were preceded by another: on 14 December the majority of the ticket, myki and validation machines were sabotaged on the Sydenham line. The claim describes the public transport system as 'an essential apparatus of capitalist democracy' taking us from home to work, and says:

'We don't demand cheaper, more efficient, or more punctual public transport. We attack this entire way of life. Even to make it free doesn't satisfy us. We already ride for free everyday and refuse to pay or submit to the terrorism of the ticket inspectors. It's not enough to merely evade the fare or hand our ticket to the next passenger boarding the carriage, an invisible rebellion against these circumstances which we all hate. This whole system must be attacked and sabotaged.'

Full texts online in full at disaccords.wordpress.com



Train station and bank attack claimed by anarchists

There were a number acts of vandalism in Melbourne in December claimed by anarchists. Two attacks were made on train stations/ticketing infrastructure and a bank's windows were broken as a response to arrests made.

The attack on North Melbourne station came the night after an incident in which a man fleeing transport police fell onto the tracks and had part of one hand severed by a train. The damage to the newly-revamped \$40 million station, was widely reported in the mainstream media. Police described it as a "brazen attack," and said that CCTV footage showed that "it appears to be highly organised and everyone knows what they had to do." Damage was estimated at \$10,000, with myki machines destroyed with spray paint and glue, windows smashed with a hammer, and barriers broken across all platforms, as well as extensive anti-police graffiti. A communiqué was released:

"Counter-attack against Metpig violence:

On Monday afternoon [19.12.11] a young man riding an Upfield train in peak hour was pushed to extremes in order to attempt to escape the terror and punishment of Metcops and the law.

In his efforts at evading both everyday beat pigs and their Metro lackeys he was left no option but to attempt to get back onto an already moving train on Platform 2 of North Melbourne Station or face fines, embarrassment and the physical and psychological violence that inevitably presents itself every time a person is arrested or detained by the cops. We must recognise that the actions of the cops and Metpigs created this circumstance that put this man's life in danger.

Unfortunately he was not successful at escape.

Fortunately he is still alive.

After undergoing extensive surgery he has now lost part of one hand from the fall according to mainstream media reports.

This man's blood, fear and pain rest not only on the hands of those who were chasing him through that train and on that Platform but on the hands of all Metcop scum that arrogantly patrol our trains

and our stations daily. Whose purpose is to force our hand into our pocket and cough up our measly wages so that we can navigate paths through this city – to our friends, families, to food and of course our work where we must sell our lives to buy our legality.

We choose not to wait until more tragedies occur on our train lines and in our stations but feel the need to act immediately to express our solidarity with all fare evaders, escapees of the law and to state clearly that Metcops, 'real' cops and "protective services officers" are our daily enemy that we all must avoid, outsmart and outrun.

North Melbourne Station is an obvious location to attack as it was the scene of this horrific accident. Despite your surveillance, under the cover of night we will let our rage spill, we will shatter your smug notions of immunity. They must be held accountable.

They are breathing a sigh of relief that they did not kill that man on Monday, but only because they fear public outcry, fear losing their job – not because they give a shit about his life. Does wrongdoing look like a person without a ticket? Or a person chasing that person to near death in order

1. Policy of mandatory detention

The policy of mandatory detention was introduced in 1992 by a Labor Govt. It requires the incarceration (or 'detention') of asylum seekers while their claims for refugee status are being processed.

What does the policy of mandatory detention currently look like? There are currently around 5000 people in detention centres (1000 of these being families, there are 370 children locked up) and 1000 in community detention. They are mostly Afghans, Iranians, and Tamils (from Sri Lanka). Migrant hostels, which prior to 1992 were much less restrictive, (e.g. Villawood was 'Villawood Migrant Hostel'), have been turned into detention centres and are heavily securitized, with guards and electric barbed wire fences. Often those inside no longer have a name and are known to guards and SERCO workers simply by their boat number. Their everyday activities are under constant surveillance. The key detention camps are in extremely remote locations (see <http://www.immi.gov.au/managing-australias-borders/detention/facilities/map-operational-facilities.pdf>) At present most people are incarcerated on either Christmas Island or Curtin in Derby, Western Australia. Soon large numbers of asylum seekers will be shifted to an old swamp site in Darwin.

This remoteness of most camps is not about invisibility, that is keeping the centres hidden. Politicians constantly invoke the camps. They want them to be visible, because they are important symbols of the Government's 'strong' stance in relation to 'the border'. The remoteness should be instead understood as being about isolation. Within this

system, asylum seekers must be isolated and locked away from the Australian community – their voices and stories ignored, and 'the human face' of this situation concealed (quite literally – no visual imagery of asylum seekers can be publicly released). Determined attempts are made by the Government to limit all access and communication between activists and advocates and asylum seekers. The isolation is about breaking the connection between the Australian community and those who have arrived. It is also about breaking the asylum seekers themselves.

There is no question that mandatory detention breaks people. In the last 18 months there have been 8 suicides in detention. If you have been in detention for over three months (and over 3/4 of those currently locked up have been in detention over three months) there is a high likelihood that you are on some kind of heavy anti-depressant to get you through the days, and some kind of numbing sleeping tablet to get you through the nights. If you have not yourself self harmed or attempted suicide, you have very likely witnessed self-harm or an attempted suicide.

However, despite this – and/or because of this – those inside actively resist and protest the system. Protest actions by detainees initiated the refugee rights movement in the early 1990s. Resistance has continued over the last twenty years, and in the last year we've seen widespread protest action across the Australian 'detention network'. As well as smaller, but constant protests at Scherger and Darwin and Curtin – hunger strikes, sit-ins, roof top protests – throughout 2010 and 2011, there were also large-scale, significant

protests at Christmas Island (December 2010) and Villawood (Easter 2011). People broke out of the camps, riot ensued, and destruction of property occurred.

These larger scale protests at Christmas Island and Villawood were widely condemned by politicians and the popular media. Even some elements within the refugee movement distanced themselves from these actions or explained them with reference to the serious mental health issues many detainees suffer. The system is slowly killing people. Those inside resisted by damaging property (garbage bins, doors, etc and at Villawood a fire broke out). We need to understand and start talking about these protest actions not as the irrational, violent actions of sick people, but as the necessary and appropriate response to the conditions of violence faced by those in detention. The Government has charged and threatened to charge a number of asylum seekers as a result of the Christmas 2010 and Easter 2011 protests. Those charged are now sitting in jail, including those who have subsequently had positive results in their refugee application. This is the 'crazy', 'irrational' action: criminalised for the legal act of claiming asylum, they are now charged with criminal offences for resisting their false criminalisation.

2. 'Anti- people smuggling and other measures bill 2010' Though always present within 'border protection' discourse there has been an increasing shift to focus on and demonise so called 'people smugglers' (e.g. Rudd's description of them as the 'scum of the earth'). Those doing this use the focus and framing to claim for themselves a humanitarian position (even while calling

for the locking up of asylum seekers) defined by its opposition to the 'evil people smuggler'.

One practical outcome of this focus was the successful passage last year of the Anti-People Smuggling and Other Measures Bill (supported by both sides of Parliament). This Bill expanded and continued the existing mandatory sentencing regime. This means that people charged with 'people smuggling' offences face a minimum sentence of between 3 and 5 years if found guilty. No mitigating circumstances or personal context can be taken into account by the magistrate during sentencing. The Bill also introduced the new offence of 'providing material support to people smuggling'. This means that people who help others secure travel by these means – whether or not they obtained a benefit from it – can be charged and face a 10 year sentence if found guilty.

Currently around 400 people are incarcerated facing charges relating to so called 'people smuggling'. Who are the these people? They are mostly Indonesian men, but also include a significant number of minors (who are being forced to prove their minor status having been found to be adults via a controversial and widely discredited X-raying system). These men are generally from rural areas in Indonesia where traditionally they earned income and sustenance as fishermen, but where they are now facing significant marine resource depletion and have no access to further resources (not least because of an regional economic agreement entered into between Australia and Indonesia that prohibits them from fishing in what were their traditional waters). Monies that can be made by working on a boat traveling

Occupy Sydney - solidarity with those arrested!

This report serves the purpose of detailing the arrests that have been made related to the Occupy Sydney protests and describing ways in which you can support people who have found themselves on the wrong side of the law.

On November 5th, 2,500 people turned out for a demonstration which attempted to 're-Occupy Sydney'. Cops made 5 arrests over the course of the evening.

On November 9th, 5 people barricaded themselves inside an office block in Sydney CBD. About 40 others turned out to support them. The five occupiers in the building were charged with trespassing and one supporter from the street was charged with assaulting a police officer. They represented themselves in court and received convictions. One person also received a fine and one a good behaviour bond. One person gave the following statement in court:

"ever since I moved to Sydney when I was 18 I have lived in housing stress, like most people I know in this city. I have found myself intermittently homeless, and have relied on the kindness of my friends. Even now when I'm renting, I remain, like so many people, in a precarious situation – rent is getting worse all the time. This precariousness has social consequences – it embeds itself into our daily lives, forces us to stay in jobs where we are bullied or relationships that aren't working or houses that are dangerous to our health because otherwise we'd find ourselves homeless again. The fact that we five rather small people were violently evicted by the full force of over 30 riot police and at least one slaving Rottweiler demonstrates that buildings like these remain empty because of the threat of violence and not because their emptiness is convenient or useful to our community.

We have not harmed anybody. I'm not frightened of being convicted, and I'm not ashamed. I'm frightened of living in a world where people resign themselves each day to new abominations, where already the right to own property you aren't using is more important than the right to shelter your cold body from the rain and the night."

The good news is that on January 10, one man had 'camping' charges dismissed as his legal representation successfully contested the cops' interpretation of the term 'camping'.

More arrests have taken place since then as well as the dozens which happened earlier. One comrade was arrested for chalking an anti-state message on the steps of the court outside the Jan. 10 hearing.

Support and solidarity with those arrested has been made more difficult by the problem of having to keep up with the massive number of arrests. The Occupy Sydney site <http://www.occupysydney.org.au/>, the Facebook group 'OCCUPY SYDNEY' and having conversations with those involved in actions are good places to start. Upcoming court dates for the arrested include January 27th, January 30th and February 3rd at the Downing Centre local court, corner of Liverpool and Elizabeth St.

Can you offer financial support? EFT transfers can be made to the account of Justice Tracks, an activist legal support collective. Please identify your donation by writing 'occupy' in the description line:

G Romuld

bsb 802396

a/n 26411222

You can also send a postcard to the official Occupy Sydney address: 56a Martin Place, Sydney NSW 2000.

guessing what they can afford to sustain in terms of criminal charges. The charges already sustained tie up resources in the courts, which, with its bizarre and alienating processes can become a more controlled and demoralising battlefield than the streets.

The result has been a community that become used to operating in survivalist mode of thought and action. This has been necessary and successful, but it has also stifled our ability to develop strategic vision and organisational capacity. As Slavoj Žižek has argued, any movement with serious ambition needs to become more than a carnival, and in our case the eviction indicated the extent to which a cheery mass is no substitute for solid organisation. The slower, smaller reoccupation has proven a far more resilient way to maintain the site but as yet it has not been able to reach beyond its own position.

This time of momentary reprieve is an opportunity to begin thinking and acting for the longer term. As a contribution I would suggest that the potential of Occupy Sydney lies not in a single master idea but rather, given the variety of skills, politics, and socio-cultural backgrounds, a strategically plural approach that works at different levels and on different fronts is a viable option. In this vein a schematic sense of what Occupy Sydney could do or become is probably appropriate.

Because of its unauthorised status the site exists as ongoing resistance to the corporatisation of Sydney. Occupy Sydney is therefore well positioned to act as a locus for dissenting thought, opinion and action. The success of the educational program points to a potential to expand into various research, publishing, and

media projects that are driven by and for a range of different interest groups. This work can tap into allied expertise that exists in environments such as universities and the mass media but would need be conscious of working against the influence and interest of these existing institutions in order to resist co-option and commodification. In addition, Occupy Sydney has the potential to expand its strategy of direct confrontation with domination into issues such as housing foreclosure, harassment of marginalised groups, and further solidarity with groups who experience the harshest effects of institutions such as police, schooling, welfare, social services and immigration. There is also the potential to build alternative services for food, childcare, housing, legal support, and healthcare.

These few ideas are an attempt to recognise that organising the 99% will need to involve tangibly deconstructing the institutions the act to produce either an affinity with the status quo or the isolation and marginal position of those who have that are alienated by it. By offering a way of channeling cynicism and anger into action, and by maintaining a egalitarian ethos, Occupy Sydney has the potential allow more and more people to develop the courage to believe that a radically different world is within their power to create. Again these ideas are much easier to write than to put into practice but if Occupy Sydney has taught me anything it's that remarkable things are possible if we continue to cultivate a culture of thought, generosity, ambition and fearlessness in ourselves and those around us.

to Australia are too high an incentive for them not to go. Generally these men – as sons, husbands, brothers – are the breadwinners in their families. They now face minimum terms in jail of 3 – 5 years and are very concerned about the safety and welfare of their families back in Indonesia. In some cases their families may not even know they are currently being incarcerated and presume them dead.

Two other things to draw out/think about out re: this discussion of who is criminalized by the current 'border protection' discourse:

1. While clearly some – those with money, with education and qualifications – can cross borders, and these crossings are reasonably easily facilitated, others – people already marginalized or oppressed economically, politically and so on – are criminalized and incarcerated when they attempt to cross the border. (So capital can cross borders, and people with significant capital can cross borders ... for the rest, well 'borders cross them').

2. The penalising does not stop at the point if/when asylum seekers are recognised as having a right to stay. You only need to look at the working conditions of the refugee and newly arrived migrant workers at places like BAIDA Poultry and Spotless Cleaning to see how this 'criminalising'/othering via the border continues to have significant material repercussions.

Workshop discussion and action outcomes

In 2002, in recognition of the role borders

play in securing and maintaining the wealth of the rich, activists that had been involved in the global justice movement decided to take up the issue of mandatory detention of asylum seekers. The result was the amazing Woomera convergence at Easter in 2002. Around 1500 activists converged on the remote detention centre, tearing down external fences. Detainees on the inside rioted, some of them ripped out the centre's Hills Hoist and used it pry about the bars on the inner fence. About 30 detainees leapt through the bars into the arms of the protesters below. Many were recaptured, but some got away. (Check out the amazing SKA TV film of the event here: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LeR39ddbD2k>).

Woomera 2002 created a tradition of activists converging on remote detention centres at Easter. This year, activists are going to the Darwin detention centre. But many of us are unable to get to Darwin and will instead be taking action in solidarity with the event where we are. The organisers of this Free School workshop floated the idea of Occupy activists taking up this call and organising occupations in Sydney that target mandatory detention or borders. This might mean actions occupying rooftops in solidarity with detainees rooftop occupations or occupation of a site or sites that manifest opposition to mandatory detention and borders.

There was broad support for this idea and a plan was adopted to re-convene in the New Year to start brainstorming and planning for Easter actions. If you want to get involved or find out more about organising actions please email: crossborder.sydney@gmail.com

NOTES FOR OCCUPY SYDNEY FREE SCHOOL:

contribution to a debate concerning capitalism, money and politics

This text was prepared for a discussion held at the first Occupy Sydney Free School. The notes are slightly adjusted and reprinted here in the interest of maintaining ongoing debates. It is not a polished piece of writing... apologies for that. Unfortunately we haven't really had time to give a proper context for the debate that prompted these notes, hopefully they will speak for themselves to a sufficient degree.

These notes are not intended to read like an economics and finance 101, 'know your derivatives from your hedge funds', kind of thing. It is good to understand these concepts of course, but this isn't the point of these notes. Instead, we want to outline some of the elements of the way in which our lives are organised in capitalism, and what this might mean for how we think about politics.

It doesn't seem controversial to us to say that in various ways the Occupy phenomenon has been a response to the economic crisis, that it is against capitalism or at least elements of capitalism, and is also a response to the general crisis of political representation across significant parts of the world. We don't pretend to offer definitive answers, but rather to contribute to a debate within Occupy that has raised these issues, and to offer some thoughts on how we might formulate responses.

The debate has revolved around questions concerning who the big players on the global level are, what the key institutions are, and who controls the money. This is often focused upon the role of central and big banks across the world. For example, some of the arguments floating around Occupy globally hold that:

1. Banks are greedy,
2. Banks control the economy because they control money (either by printing it or lending it out with interest),
3. The banks' practice of lending out more than the sum of their reserves shows that money is fake, and the fact that even more money is generated in this process of lending lines of credit exposes the irrational form of the market, and is thus an illegitimate basis for making money,
4. Banks are responsible for inflation, through controlling the supply of money, whether that means hoarding money or printing more,
5. The Reserve Bank is the leader in a conspiracy that is out to destroy the value of currencies.

might observe as a proto alternative to governance, Occupy Sydney has also been the catalyst for experiments in alternative education (free-school), law, shelter, ownership, media, food, and politics. The promise of these initiatives is that they provide concrete examples of how to contribute to the sustainability of a community without recourse to commodification or centralisation.

A history of social movements might suggest that there is nothing very novel with these initiatives. However it is significant to observe the way in which these things are being attempted, that is, in the full glare of the public sphere and at the very foot of the institutions that are being targeted. In this sense an achievement of the Occupy movement has been to expose the hypocrisy of the liberal-democratic order – how can they say we live under conditions of political freedom when those who try to reorganise social relations for the common good are met with such brutal opposition? While this observation does not resonate with a majority of people, particularly in Australia, those who do care to look, or better yet, participate, are able to see very clearly that the only freedoms deemed permissible tend to be the kind of 'freedoms' that keep things the same.

Occupy therefore represents a globalised political adversary to the transnational hegemony of liberal capitalism. Importantly, a characteristic of the resistance has been to organise alternative socio-political arrangements as the method rather than the outcome of change. The strategy that has been maintained so far is not to build enough political strength to make demands of



the existing order, but rather to build an alternative order that seeks to deprive the establishment of its ability to dominate.

Lofty as these sentiments may be they are an important driving force for anyone involved in Occupy Sydney. However, as I mentioned at the beginning there is a need to situate our actions and understanding within the immediate context. Occupy Sydney achieved a lot based on raw excitement and persistence but the tactics and rallying rhetoric that was so effective in bringing people out onto the streets in the first week has not been enough to retain numbers or build momentum. Internal conflict has worked to instigate divisions and turn some people off, but the influence of the police in instigating and exacerbating these issues should not be underestimated. While police actions have provoked moments of spontaneous solidarity, the brutality and persistence has left people traumatized, exhausted, and second

of many aggressive raids on the site. Encouragingly this move proved to be a catalyst for the first act of spontaneous and cooperative resistance. This resistance was significant not simply for the equipment that it saved but for the resolve of the group who went on to defend a week-long unbroken occupation in the heart of Australia's financial capital. It is a credit to the people involved that it took upwards of 100 brutal riot police working under the cover of darkness to finally dislodge the first phase of the occupation.

This first week should not be idealised and the challenges involved were certainly not limited to the actions of the police. Nevertheless there are some remarkable observations to be made. One that struck me in particular relates to Tony Fry's concept of 'commonality in difference'. By this I am referring to the experience of a genuinely plural collection of individuals establishing a sense of common ground characterised by radical inclusiveness without assimilation. While the impetus for this may have come from a shared analysis of the political landscape, namely, that the institutionalised political practices available in Australia are inadequate to achieving the degree of structural change we would like to see, the longevity of the event resulted from the founding of something more positive. By being in that space – a public space in which no one had the power to turn others away – and by committing to a way of doing things rather than a list of specific outcomes, that is, direct consensus democracy and non-hierarchical organisation, the group set itself the challenge of founding the kind of social organisation that it wanted to bring into being.

To the understandable frustration of many this form of organisation was and remains a work in progress – work that is often tedious, confronting, aggravating, and at times deflating. I would argue that this is not simply a reflection on the variety in personalities, backgrounds or politics involved. Nor is it just because we are chasing an ideal within a constantly fluctuating landscape. Beneath all these things there is a more primordial difficulty that lies in trying to teach ourselves how to do something that is currently beyond the experience of most of the people involved. In this respect the experiences of social organisation that many of us are socialised to, the background mode of thinking and acting that we often default to, has been foregrounded as precisely a problem to be undone. The customs in question might include, for instance, a tendency to treat or regard the assembly as a sovereign power, a will to override and disregard minority dissent in the pursuit of a desired outcome, and a misplaced belief that a proper and explicit process is sufficient to produce truly consensual decisions – something that could only really emerge from a more complex and habitual practice of consensus building. Despite these difficulties Occupy Sydney has remained committed to the ideal of consensus and the practice of making it happen.

This example is one of many that points to a more general idea of what was and remains the basis for my involvement in Occupy Sydney; that is, an accessible environment for testing and experimenting with the kinds of everyday processes, systems, habits and cultures that are intended to displace current status quo. Beyond what we

Not all of this is inherently wrong; of course banks are driven by profits and the supply of money does affect the price of currency; but this picture misses the most important point, that being, our role in the creation of two things – value, which is where profit comes from, – and also of wealth, which are all the useful objects and activities that play a role in everyday life. We want to emphasise the difference between wealth and value, because value is the social force that dominates creativity and puts us all to work, whereas wealth might be seen as being composed of the things that satisfy human need and desire ¹.

In participating in this conversation, we want to argue that our point of departure in addressing these questions needs to be in coming to terms with the ways that human creativity, which is to say labour, is mobilised and exploited in the creation of value and therefore profit. In capitalism, access to socially created wealth is privatised, kept beyond reach unless one has money. Particularly when thinking about questions of political power, the centrality of our own activity and creativity in making the world, individually and socially is key.

A primary divergence within this debate occurs when people attempt to understand these things systematically. In broad terms, we often hear the concern, fear and/or anger that finance, credit, fiat money have gotten out of control or, that financial instruments now have total power over our lives. Others have argued that extending from this, there is a small group of people who manipulate financial transactions, and they determine every other political and economic engagement. However, alongside the deeply problematic elements of some of these perspectives (such as support for Ron Paul, or the anti-Semitic conspiracy theories which also need to be refuted), we believe that these arguments tend to mystify rather than illuminate some of the basic elements of how capitalism works, what the financial sector is, and where we might begin to organise ourselves politically. In a word, finance is not just a parasite on an otherwise 'all good' situation.

Perhaps we can quickly demonstrate why this financial realm is necessary for the functioning of contemporary capitalism. Firstly, there are two core functions that capitalists perform. One function is associated with money (attached to banks and financial institutions) and the other is to do with production (particular industries). Both functions are equally important. Without vast sums of money to draw on, to borrow or without a group of money capitalists who deal in credit, businesses would not start, large-scale infrastructure wouldn't be built, people would not be able to buy homes, and so on. In this respect, credit and lending plays a fundamental role in the daily functioning of the capitalist economy.

¹ We don't have space in this article to explore the concept of value in depth. However, for a great, accessible introduction to value theory, see Brendan McCooney, 'Law of Value – The Series', <http://kapitalism101.wordpress.com/law-of-value-the-series/>

If one thinks about starting up a business, which involves needing a lot of money to begin it and get it off the ground, then one needs to confront the problem of how to begin. Do you save for years and years? This is obviously untenable. In this situation, obtaining credit facilitates the beginning of the business. On a more minor level this plays out as personal credit facilitates so many of our daily transactions. Think of credit cards, for example. However, on a larger scale, there isn't always a smooth exchange between money and production. There are limits on the supply and demand for money, which fuel tensions between agents whose primary focus is controlling the supply of money, who deal in money as capital, and those bosses who focus on production, who invest in business and industry. An example would be mining corporations lobbying for a lower interest rate so they can borrow more. Particular forms of capitalist crisis can occur when these flows and relations break down.

Now that financial markets are more powerful and central to capitalism than ever before, it's hardly surprising that arguments have arisen that posit the lenders of credit or gate keepers of interest rates as the problem in and of themselves. To return to value, the question of how this social force determines our relationship to each other, the world and how we are put to work (paid and unpaid) in this era of financialisation should be central to our investigations of 'the problem'. The multiple and complex ways in which we are compelled to work are now entwined with processes of financialisation. To put it very briefly, debt, speculation and risk are part of our daily lives - engagement on these levels now acts as a passport to civic participation. The conditioning force of debt compels us to sell our labour into exploitation far into the future, while the need to predict and plan for future needs pushes us to reinvent ourselves as faithful individual subjects adhering to the doctrines of 'financial literacy' and seeking personal solutions through the market.

However, from a certain perspective, the financialisation of daily life (marked by mortgages, credit cards, auto loans and so on) has been produced by previous cycles of workers' struggles that generated a crisis in capitalist reproduction organised along Keynesian and Fordist lines ². Moreover, within the circuits of finance the refusal of these conditions can be and often is re-articulated ³. Nevertheless these devices have enabled increased consumption while wage levels

² Midnight Notes, 2009, 'Promissory Notes: From Crisis to Commons', www.midnightnotes.org/Promissory%20Notes.pdf. Many others have noted the restructuring of capital in the late 20th Century, including Randy Martin, 2002, *Financialisation of Daily Life*, Philadelphia: Temple Press & also Rick Wolff, 2011, 'Deficit, Debts and Deepening Crisis', Social Text, <http://www.socialtextjournal.org/blog/2011/08/deficits-debts-and-deepening-crisis.php>.

³ See for example Melinda Cooper and Angela Mitropoulos, 2009, 'In Praise of Usura', *Mute*, 2:13, 2009

beyond survival

a reflection on the short past and potential futures of Occupy Sydney, by Matt Kiem

The 'augenblick' or 'blink of the eye' – the experience of a startling but ephemeral moment of insight – was a concept that György Lukács talked about at the level of a social-historical phenomenon. Lukács' augenblick represented a sudden fissure in the otherwise ordinary state of affairs that exposed an opportunity for transformative action. At the risk of overdramatising I think this is perhaps a reasonable way to understand what occurred in Martin Place in October of 2011. There, as part of a self-consciously global event a situation was presented in which the group of individuals who converged on that site were presented with the opportunity to establish the semblance of something new and previously unimaginable. Three months after that moment, a period that included manifold instances of success and casualty, Occupy Sydney has now reached the symbolically significant 99th day of occupation. In the wake of a court decision that promises a small degree of reprieve from ongoing police harassment there is a tenuous feeling that Occupy Sydney is winning recognition amongst officials and the general public as a more permanent fixture within the landscape of the city. However, rather than instigating a similar burst of radical energy this achievement seems to have resulted in a lacuna, a sense of interval or void that might be captured in the question 'after fighting so hard for this space, what are we supposed to do with it?'

This is not meant as a pessimistic thought, merely an honest description of the present situation. My sense is that for those who share this feeling it will prove to be temporary, even useful – not least because it calls for serious reflection on the issues of meaning and direction that will be crucial to the movement over the coming months. This questioning however should be conducted in the context of what has happened and what has been achieved.

On the 15th of October I had every intention of just passing through Martin Place on my way to a friend's picnic but I was curious to see what Sydney would turn out in response to the events I'd been observing in New York. I arrived to a surprisingly large and diverse crowd of people who all seemed excited by the possibility of what their ideas and numbers could achieve. As the afternoon moved along to the sound of aspirational speeches the crowd eventually confirmed that they were there to establish an occupation. As the sun melted away, the tents went up, and musical instruments came out, the energy of the day shifted into a more persistent feeling of hope. By that time I had long given up on the picnic and was settling into the idea of playing a small part in what was proving to be an unpredictable unfolding.

Around 10pm the police moved in to dismantle the erected tents under the auspice of enforcing a council notice, a move that would prove to be the first

Liberalism and politeness

Occupy Sydney was an attempt to formulate a space of resistance with no single ideology or practice. This was put into play particularly to ensure that no one group (ie socialist organisations) could dominate the agenda. While that was generally successful, there was a much more surreptitious takeover that occurred as a variety of liberal-reformists came to the fore. The ascendancy of a liberal tendency can be attributed to its capacity to cover its ideological positions (such as being pacifist, belief in reform through electoral politics and the state, etc) under the guise of an assumed neutrality. Liberalism dominates the language of oppositional politics in Australia to an extent that it can become difficult to even imagine, let alone express a more radical vision. And it does so while claiming a supposed moral high-ground of non-politics.

This moralistic 'non-politic' regularly played out in the early weeks of OS in the form of rebukes for those who had more antagonistic positions towards the state and capitalism and who refused to be subservient to the harrassments of the police. While these liberals were not a majority, they had a prominent voice at GA's and through sanctimonious calls for 'unity' (ie a giving up of power and autonomy) they sought to mould OS in their desired image of a non-confrontational, 'legitimate' form of dissent. While such attempts were never fulfilled, they did set the tone. One farcical example being a discussion about 'violent language' that revolved around a combination of some folks verballing that smug, mofo bastard, politician Joe Hockey as he walked by and the

use of the word 'scumbag' in some OS propaganda.

This sort of moralism is ultimately encapsulated in the 'martyr' strategy that sees patiently waiting, sacrificing comfort and not resisting the police as the way to change the system. Again, this pretty much adheres to the sort of protest format described early in this piece – one hellbent on avoiding confrontation at all costs. And one seemingly hellbent of fading into obscurity under the inner-glow of its own smug, self-satisfaction and good intentions. For the rest of us, well, we should have no interest in having our resistance 'legitimised'. Struggle against capitalism and the state should be direct and confrontational and anchored in everyday solidarity. The spectacle of a conformist, disempowered protest pleading to a higher authority must be negated.

If you want to give feedback to the author or comment on this article, e-mail wolvesatthedoor@riseup.net

have stagnated. Furthermore, the process of the reproduction of capital is now imposed through contractual obligations that demand speculation on our future consumption (mobile phone plans, health insurance and mortgages for example), as well as compulsory pension savings schemes (superannuation) that are sources of actual and potential revenue for the boss class. They demonstrate the increasing integration of practices such as communicating (mobile phone plans), being treated for illness (health care) and being educated (student loans) into capital's circuits. All areas of our lives are thus wired into the valorisation (production, circulation and accumulation) of capital, which in turn means that all areas of our lives are a terrain of potential antagonism to this process.

Everyday, we create innumerable useful things that are both directly necessary for us to live and are pleasurable (food, video games, medicines, music and so on). However, the usefulness of this work is constantly concealed, and our ability to use and enjoy these things is restricted by access to money. When we see a product in a shop, we see the price-tag, rather than the work that has gone into producing it. The social relationship between workers and bosses involved in creating products is hidden, as is the importance of unpaid labour, such as much care work.

In contrast, capitalists justify their vast revenues by pointing to their own role in the production process, as managers, innovators and creators of employment. While people like Steve Jobs and Bill Gates have played a role in production, given the scale of production, and the immense creativity involved in making complex things, the role of these people is vastly less significant than that of innumerable workers who contribute labour and creativity in an amazing variety of ways. This is a clear example of how the privatisation of socially created wealth, through the relation of value or profit, makes those dudes wealthy at the expense of those who actually created the products.

With capitalism as the way in which life is organised, banks, credit and the lending of money are necessary and fundamental to the daily functioning of this system. So if we agree that this capitalist system has produced fundamental inequities, and continues to do so, in order to substantially transform our lives, we need to go beyond talking about better regulation of credit and banks. What makes the system tick is ultimately the labour and creative activity that we are involved in everyday.

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Interview with The Spectre / El Fantasma: The Newspaper of the International Co-ordination Against Multinational Policies

1. Why did you decide to start the publication? What do you see your political objectives as?

A: The idea for The Spectre came out of one of the decisions made following the Latin American, Australian & Asia-Pacific Solidarity Gathering in November 2010: A monthly publication – ‘The Spectre’, edited in Australia by LASNET [Latin American Solidarity Network], to announce actions and events of workers and Indigenous organisations active in their struggles against multinationals and States.1

In our first issue we outlined our objectives as: Under the constant violence, exploitation and marginalisation imposed by global capitalism, we see building effective means of communication and the production of our own media as one effective means of struggle. We aim to make our voices heard; to share our stories of struggle; to build international solidarity; to support all those under attack, underpaid, underfed and fed up with the systemic violence inherent in our everyday lives; and to work collaboratively towards achieving our goals of building free, dignified and just social relationships.2

However, we’ve been publishing an English version roughly bimonthly since then, and have only managed to produce two issues in Spanish.

Moreover, we initially hoped the publication could be both a good newspaper and a communication tool between the groups involved in the Gathering. Whilst these groups have, and continue to, submit articles, this communication hasn’t really happened. So now the objectives are probably better defined as providing information on struggles and movements LASNET organises around (although there is a large overlap here with our original scope) and in translating statements and news from movements or groups we are in solidarity with.

2. How difficult has it been to find the resources needed for a publication, e.g. printing, writers, people to do lay-out, etc

A: The main problems are probably around finding our audience and finding contributors. The first is probably a bit of precursor to the second, we’re in the process of finding whom we’re writing for (hopefully this interview can help us in that!) and following that hopefully either more people will be interested in contributing or at least we can better ‘target’ and approach people to twist their arms into writing something for us.

Outside of that, there are the usual problems, small numbers of people having to do a lot of the work and so on, but that is pretty much to be expected. If anything The Spectre is probably the one thing LASNET isn’t haemorrhaging money on.

3. In Mutiny it sometimes feels like articles in the zine are just what people are writing about generally, rather than having a set of criteria for content. You clearly have a focus on struggles & politics in Latin America, but other than this, have you tried to prioritise publishing articles around particular themes? For what reasons?

A: This question is a bit problematic on two levels. Firstly, Mutiny does seem to set some criteria in seeking content, namely you appear to seek content that aims to inform anarchist praxis in Australia, and Mutiny does that pretty well. Secondly, the criteria of ‘politics and struggles in Latin America’ is a huge focus, one definitely outside our scope. If anything we tend to set themes on the struggles that LASNET are involved in organising around, and sometimes ones that we feel inform our politics or are just plain interesting to us.

left with three main groupings of people:

1) The authoritarian socialist bubble that in the main argued for OS to link up with other campaigns that they had decided was where real struggle existed; 2) A thin layer of anarchos and anti-authoritarians who were able to provide examples of militancy and autonomy in the actions they took but who still mostly filled a purely oppositional role towards the socialists and bureaucrats; & 3) A large layer of liberals who were never organised as an identifiable group but who ended up having the most influence on the space through their constant obsession with image (more on this later).

An example of how particular working groups could politically define the actual practice of the space comes in the form of the legal working group. Having been so entitled, it sought to immediately take up the organisational space whenever arrests occurred – putting strategies into place that reflected the legally-trained positions of those within it that the courts could somehow be of service to radical protest movements. There was no space given for those outside the legal working group (including actual arrestees in many cases) to put forward differing ideas for court strategy. That an absolute solidarity between arrestees and those who supported them should be the starting point, and that legal strategy can be worked out in a manner hostile, cynical and manipulative to court process was never entertained. Trusting each other before lawyers is not only a revolutionary’s approach to the courts, it is a realistic one that recognises the court system as a disciplinary arm of the state that daily fucks us all.

In daily struggle

While OS did mostly present a differing face to the usual boredom of walk-around-the-block demonstrations, it still in the main failed to look like more than a moment of symbolic foot-stomping. The basis for this recurring problem is that the purpose of protest and dissent seems nearly always to be conceived as struggling on behalf of someone else. While around the actual space of the campsite or at workshops that were happening there, people did talk about how their daily lives were affected by capitalism (with the difficulties of housing in Sydney being a constant) these struggles are rarely seen as the basis for action.

Instead, as OS began to look more and more like every usual event of the uninspired Left, the standard mode of operation was to attempt to link up its ‘brand’ with the already existing struggles and campaigns of others. I’m not arguing against attempts to genuinely extend solidarity, but the basis of real solidarity needs to be the experiences of struggle in our own lives from which we attempt to find common ground with the struggles of other folk. OS was useful to the extent it existed as a space outside the grind of daily life where people could go to try and find some of that common ground. From there however, it is important that ideas of resistance become part of the everyday spaces and experiences of our lives so as to subvert the belief that dissent can only occur in the narrowly defined ‘political’ spaces created to be separate from that.

articulating a fairly thorough critique of capitalism and who have some expectation that their voice will be heard. Yet, this expectation can only restrict the potential of movement, fitting in with the liberal view of protest described earlier – where the ultimate hope is that some authority will take note and fix the problem. While the many fuck-ups of the capitalist system were regularly identified at OS, there was no idea of how to begin to challenge it. Whereas in London if no such thorough analysis was overtly articulated, an anti-state, anti-authority position was pretty clearly evident in the directness of the revolt.

A new beat?

There were a few reasons why the manifestation of the ‘Occupy’ phenomenon in Sydney seemed to present the potential for difference compared to the usual protest scene and where these differences were maintained was where the most positive aspects of OS can be identified. And OS did start with all the potential of the unknown, seeking to fill the dead-space of radical politics in this city and bringing something of a challenge to capitalism as well as including a number of people who are not just the regulars at typical leftist demonstrations. And people are inspired by the idea of this being a global ‘movement’ that is happening in a number of places.

The main success of the occupation in Sydney was in the creation of a space of encounter where people could have discussions with each other about political, economic and social questions that affect them everyday – and also the ones that might not directly affect

them everyday! This space of encounter does not ordinarily exist in our crowded lives. These discussions can be part of building solidarity between different people and they also play a part in the practical questions of how the occupied site functions and what it looks like. Ultimately, even as OS withered away, the desire to continue such discussion saw the idea of a ‘free school’ take hold to ensure the existence of an ongoing space where a variety of topics could be openly discussed. It is worth noting that the free school was born outside of the official organising structures of OS as a rare example of autonomous practice by folk concerned that the stifling bureaucracy that was taking hold was endangering that ‘space of encounter’.

The bureau of ideologues take hold...

The bureaucratisation of OS particularly occurred with the reliance on delegating to working groups to resolve issues that came out of the General Assembly (GA). This might be an ok course of action when the purpose of a working group is directly about practical camp issues, but increasingly working groups were called on to resolve political differences. With a number of working groups thrown into existence on top of the GA, it was only those with the capacity to dedicate significant chunks of their lives to OS who were having much input, removing the influence of a broader range of participants.

This was a missed opportunity for political differences to be discussed openly in a way that could have led to new ways of articulating and creating dissent. Instead, as the frustration of bureaucracy took hold we saw many people drift away from OS so that it was



4. Have you any thoughts on the strengths and weaknesses of the newspaper?

A: A strength of the magazine would be that we are writing about issues that no one else is. Most of the left leaning magazines or newspapers cover pretty much the same material. Whilst we mainly cover Latin American issues we try to contextualise it a way that connects to the broader issues of the world.

Outside of our inability to print and distribute large quantities of *The Spectre*, our weaknesses in terms of content are also largely the ones that come from the problems outlined in Question 2, namely limited resources and contributions. This has made us occasionally overly reliant on re-printing articles from other sources, such as upsidedownworld.org. Moreover, we sometimes aren't able to translate all the articles we'd like to, nor have the time to write our own analysis on many issues.

5. Do you have any ideas about how grassroots publications can collaborate and learn from each other?

A: As far as learning goes, obviously reading each other's publications is the best way, and of course publishing critiques, reviews, or discussion about other publications or the articles within them is great. Mutiny has been doing this really well recently, your critiques of other publications seem to have also led you to reflect on what you want Mutiny to be, and Mutiny has been better for it. This is also a form of collaboration; any critiques of *The Spectre* from other grassroots publications help us make it a better publication.

In discussing collaboration we have come to the tentative proposal that perhaps we could work towards regularly producing and printing content across our publications. Perhaps LASNET can provide, say, a regular column in Mutiny and vice versa?

Outside of that, there has been a number of new anarchist publications printed (relatively) recently (*Facta Non Verba*, *The Wolves At The Door*, *Brisbane From Below*, & *Black Light* come to mind). It would be great if grassroots publications such as (both of) ours can help, firstly, these publications continue and, secondly, hopefully encourage others to start publishing too (looking at *Organise! SA* here). How we go about helping is something we're not yet clear on, but we offer encouragement here to those wishing to do so. It is time consuming, laborious and often frustrating work, but well worth the effort once you have a printed copy in your hands.

6. Anything else?

To mention it a third time, we'd love more contributions!

Also, all issues of *The Spectre* are available freely as PDFs via

spectrenewsletter.wordpress.com, if you are interested in either getting hard copies, contributing or want to contact us for whatever reason, you can do so at

editor.spectre@gmail.com.

You can find out more about LASNET at

latinlasnet.org.

And thank you to Mutiny for your time!

Occupy Sydney:

Great words won't cover ugly actions and good frames won't save bad paintings

Movements come and then movements fade and their measurements can be taken in terms of the traces they leave on the political culture of a place. A feeling towards greater militancy and solidarity between folk, more widespread antagonism towards the state or a crack in the gleaming mirror of social consensus are all outcomes that have a greater impact than any singularly won reform. The success of Occupy Sydney (OS) will ultimately be judged on these factors especially now as its presence here has dwindled to the point where its very existence can (and probably should) be called into question. While this article will ultimately arrive at a conclusion that leaves OS on the negative side of what could be called success it is also a fairly general overview of what OS means for radical activity here and isn't intended to deny the positive experiences that some people took from the whole kerfuffle.

Firstly though, a word about 'movements' in general. It seems perfectly reasonable to be sceptical of the next big movement when we've typically seen a trajectory where the concept of 'movement' slides from the immediacy of feeling like a verb to the stagnation of becoming a noun (the 'movement'). And as Phil Spector did to The Ramones, that shift towards the usual leftist forms of dissent does to the potential of any social movement in Sydney – removing rawness, urgency and relevance and replacing them with a choreographed 'wall of sound'. The benchmark that seems to have been set for such protest was probably best defined in a liberal-left blog I recently came across which declared the purpose of any protest as being: a) to highlight your issue; b) to attract more people to your cause and; c) to convince the authorities to change things. Clearly there's no room for a rockstar tantrum and fucking shit up at this inn. Let alone autonomy and revolution.

"We want to be as wealthy as the rich" - NOT a slogan from the Occupy movement.

Occupy Sydney failed to significantly move from the potential its existence created to actualising any new forms of dissent and revolt. And the hope of something new was really the main thing the 'Occupy' movement had going for it. Considering the level of radical activity in Australia, this isn't actually a big ask, but as the genuine early attempts to create an empowered, participatory political process morphed into a bureaucracy of dilettante hacktivists specialising in protest micro-management the spark of spontaneity was smothered at OS. And like a vicious feedback loop, this increasing bureaucratisation was both perpetuated by and fed into the other factors that restricted OS such as a fear of being seen as anything like antagonistic, a tendency towards liberal-reformism and a preference for orchestrated campaigns over day-to-day struggle.

Here it maybe useful to try shedding some light on the limitations of the 'Occupy' phenomenon by way of comparison. While 'Occupy' was the pin-up movement of 2011 for many who consider themselves revolutionaries, it is interesting to look at how it compares to the London and UK riots of August last year. There are some immediate and striking similarities in how both erupt in one particular place at a particular moment before their flame catches and spreads to numerous other places. Both are also particularly notable for generally existing with no leaders and no demands. What becomes clear however is that much of the left privileges a certain form of articulating politics over mass and open revolt (and I ain't trying

to write out of this story the nastiness of some things that occurred on the streets last August).

Such a position can be seen in the critique of the London & UK riots that suggest no overt politics of change or even critique of capitalism were being expressed. This is blatant leftist platformism and it is boring. In a text written by Gertrude and Fuschia responding to the (liberal and authoritarian socialist) left's outrage that the neatly stage-managed protest they had organised against the G20 meeting in Melbourne in 2006 had turned into a riot we get an explanation of what is happening here:

A false dichotomy is set up between the role of the "disciplined", politically mature protester and the inarticulate other. The other is positioned as a person or a group too worn out by oppression to resist tactically. This other is protested for, or on behalf of, but we must never indulge in their tactics. Both property damage and any spontaneous, emotional embodiment of resistance are seen as apolitical, as reactions to be left (pun intended) behind as we attain proper political maturity.

Additionally we don't get much recognition that perhaps many of the August rioters were simply not interested in having their rage at capitalist society articulated through 'the proper channels' whether they were capable of accessing those channels or not.

In the situation of OS we clearly have many people who are capable of